22: Wiedfeldt--7 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161 Atayal

Yielding to the pressure exerted by Chinese immigrants, the "savages" of Formosa have evacuated the western plain, and have withdrawn to the mountainous country of the interior and the eastern coast, with the result that they occupy about 17,000 of the 34,700 square kilometers of the island's area. At present, their number is estimated at 120,000, and they are said to be divided into nine tribes, which vary as to composition, language, and customs.

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177   Atayal

The largest and most vigorous of these [MC: Formosan Aborigine] tribes is that of the Atayals. This tribe is estimated as consisting of 30,000 persons occupying 7,700 square kilometers, and has deliberately remained aloof from foreign influence. They call themselves Atayals, which in their language means persons of the same kind, presumably in the anthropological sense.

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [3]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 173, 186, 609   Atayal

According to their traditions, they are the noblest and oldest kind of people on the island. Their ancestors took refuge on the mountains after a severe typhoon, and from there they slowly returned to the plains. Later, other savages came to the island; then came the Chinese, the whites, and finally the Japanese. They consider all of these people as illegal intruders, but they especially hate the Chinese, with whom they have been longest in contact. The boundaries of their territory consist of mountains thickly wooded with virgin forest. The interior is said to be similar, as far as foreign observers have penetrated. To be sure, that is not very far. No foreigner has as yet set foot on Mt. Sylvia.

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 137 Atayal

The tangible wealth of their land consists of the forests, which are worthless at present because of the lack of roads, and of the very desirable camphor trees, because of which the Japanese have pushed the Aiyu line forward by about 800 square kilometers annually during the last few years.

22: Wiedfeldt--7-8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177 Atayal

The Atayals are said to consist of 24 tribes. I became better acquainted with the two tribes living along the frontier: the western [8] Schimptonoff, or Bedonoff, and the eastern Taroku, or Toroku. The former are called by the Chinese Sensanban, or Kappansan, which means in German the fore mountain savages; the latter are called Bokkui. I have not been able to find out anything about the meaning of the other names. Both tribes have stubbornly resisted all cultural influences coming from the Chinese, the Japanese, and the other savages, and they have vigorously opposed the advance of the Japanese. After a violent struggle, the Schimptonoff have for four years been kept within the Aiyu line. This is the fate that lies ahead for the Toroku in the struggles now threatening.

22: Wiedfeldt--8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 182, 582, 619 Atayal

As things are now, one can become well acquainted only with the tribes living on the frontier. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to observe, the members of other tribes resemble them in stature, clothing and tattooing, and are said to resemble them also in mode of life and customs. Just as all the Atayal tribes are distinguished as a unit from the other savages of Formosa because they do not have the common dormitory for the young men, or because they are not acquainted with the custom of chewing betel, etc., so they are united by similar customs. They have the same type of money, they can understand each other, although their language shows dialect variations, since it does not have the benefit of the restraining influence of a written form. Neighboring tribes of the Atayals intermarry and have occasionally undertaken joint military expeditions, two things which are unheard of between branches of different tribes. Conditions among the Schimptonoff and the Taroku may hence be taken as typical of the Atayals, especially since both tribes, in spite of their frontier location, have lost very little of their tribal peculiarities, and have lost that little very recently, apparently.

22: Wiedfeldt--8 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161 Atayal

The Schimptonoff, [MC: also called the Bedonoff tribe of the Tayals] whom I investigated more thoroughly, because my work kept me in their district a longer time, are about 1800 strong. Some almost extinct neighboring tribes have fused with them, so that they now number about 3,000 individuals. Including their hunting grounds, they have an area of around 80 square kilometers. They are composed of 52 clans. Every clan has an average of 12 to 15 families, and every family consists of 4 to 5 persons. It is calculated that there are 2500 individuals of the Taroku.

22: Wiedfeldt--9 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 241, 252, 527 Atayal

The main article of food of the Atayal is millet. They celebrate tribal and clan festivals in connection with the planting and the harvesting of this crop. It is ground by the women in a stump of wood in which a hole has been burned out, or on a stone, by means of a solid round piece of wood. They also eat yams and wild bananas, and more recently they have learned from the Chinese to eat rice and beans, and from the Japanese, sweet potatoes. With this vegetable diet they seldom eat meat, but occasionally they eat large quantities of it; for example, they eat antelope after a successful hunt, or at a wedding feast, and when they eat up the sacrifices. Recently they have begun to eat chickens and pigs, which they have obtained from the Chinese. Fish is eaten in large quantities once a year at the tribal feast.

22: Wiedfeldt--9[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 263, 177, 824, 431 Atayal

As a condiment, they like salt best of all. If this is lacking, they use as a substitute the small, salty berries of the mabu tree. The Taroku are said to have learned how to get salt from the sea from the Chinese by way of the Amis who border them to the south. Recently there have been isolated instances of their giving this necessary condiment as a gift and also as an article of barter to the tribes in the interior, after the Japanese prevented the importation of salt. Otherwise they use as a spice a kind of ginger which they get from the root of a species of banana, and to which they attribute a strengthening effect.

22: Wiedfeldt--9 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 252 Atayal

Baking and broiling are processes which are unknown to the Atayals. Meat is half roasted and half burned over a fire. Mountain potatoes are roasted in the ashes. Millet is either wrapped in large firm leaves, put into a hole in the ground, and heated by means of hot stones placed around it and on top of it, or it is put into a bamboo stick which is permitted to burn slowly, whereby the millet is cooked to suit the taste of the Atayals.

22: Wiedfeldt--9-10 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 372 Atayal

They now make a fire with flint and steel, which they get from the Chinese, but in isolated cases they are already using Japanese matches. It is said that in the interior they still make a fire by rubbing two sticks together, which was said to be the only method used by the border tribes also up to two decades ago. The legends and customs with which the peoples of colder countries invest the obtaining and keeping of the fire which is such a vital necessity in their lives are unknown to the Atayals. They are also unacquainted with conflagrations, for after preparing a meal, they put out the fire, inasmuch as they do not need it to heat their dwellings. Moreover, the fire would find little to feed on [10] in the luxuriant foliage surrounding it and in view of the high degree of humidity.

22: Wiedfeldt--10 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 271, 312, 415 Atayal

Their staple drink is fresh water, which is generally brought to their huts in partially slit bamboo trunks from the nearby brook. They also use hego, a kind of elder, for this purpose. If the stream is farther away, the water is brought to the hut in bamboo staffs.

22: Wiedfeldt--10 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 177   Atayal

On special occasions they drink a fermented millet. The women salivate and masticate thoroughly a mouthful of millet, and place the result in a hollow stump of wood, where it ferments after a time. It stays there until it is mixed with water and drunk. Recently they have begun to make rice-whiskey in the same way. They also like slightly salty water, in which ginger has lain. Since they have been restricted to the Aiyu line, many Schimptonoff have become fond of sake and whiskey without soda, which they drink from the bottle. Immoderate drinking is said to have been unknown among them formerly. After all, it was difficult to keep large amounts of intoxicating drinks on hand in view of their laborious method of preparing them.

22: Wiedfeldt--10[3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264, 576, 177.26 Japanese
636.26

The Atayals have two meals a day, which serve to set a beginning and an end to their day. One is in the early morning, after they get up, and the second is in the evening, before they go to bed. Men, women, and children eat together. A guest eats with his host, while the women and children eat afterward. The hollow of the hand serves as their cup, and as knife, fork, and spoon they use the five-pronged fork with which they were born. In the Japanese school which has recently been organized the young Schimptonoff are receiving their first instructions in the use of table implements and drinking vessels.

22: Wiedfeldt--10[4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 261, 251 Atayal

The Atayals are moderate in the consumption of their daily ration of vegetable meals, but they are immoderate in their consumption of meat and fish. This may have some connection with the fact that they can keep meat for only a short time. They are not acquainted with methods of curing it, and merely scorch it over a fire, which makes the meat black and hard as dried Japanese fish. It may also be connected with the fact that they leave their millet on the field for a long time, and then store it in the small adjoining hut until the time of the next harvest.

22: Wiedfeldt--10[5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262, 222 Atayal

They are fond of wild honey, together with which they eat the bees and the nests. At night, the men go wherever they have seen bees during the day, and by the light of a burning log enveloped in dry grass they take the nests from the blinded bees with no difficulty at all.

22: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 276 Atayal

Tobacco smoking is general among men, women, and children. As a pipe they use two sticks of bamboo, thrust one into the other. [11] According to their traditions, they received the "tamako" from the savages of the plain, who in turn got it from the whites. Although it is only recently that they have taken over the planting of tobacco from the Chinese, today there are a few tobacco plants by every hut. Everyone picks a leaf as he needs it, sticks it in his hair or lays it on the ground to dry, and then packs it in his pipe when it is still half green.

22: Wiedfeldt--11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 177 Atayal

Masculine clothing consists of a square cloth, without armholes. It is held over the shoulders by a string and hangs down in front as far as the knees. As a result of Japanese influence, a loin-cloth has also begun to be worn recently. The women add to this article of apparel a somewhat wider piece of cloth bound around the hips, and leg-coverings which extend from the knee to the ankle and are fastened top and bottom. Sewing is unheard of. All articles of clothing are yellowish grey in color, and often have reddish brown stripes. Their feet are bare, in spite of the stony mountain paths, just as their heads are unprotected from the heat of the sun. Occasionally the men wear caps with a peak, woven out of osier switches or the twining branches of the *to* tree.. These caps cover the nape of the neck. Apparently they are a poor imitation of European caps. Many of the young girls have recently taken to twisting around their heads strips of bright colored material which they get from the Chinese or the Japanese. A costume of this sort, which leaves the back of the body as well as the head and the feet uncovered, affords no protection against bad weather, but this is unnecessary in the climate of Formosa. Nor can this costume be attributed to a feeling of modesty, for the Japanese loin-cloth is said to be still unknown in the interior. Also, the leg-coverings of the women leave the upper part of the thigh exposed. This costume satisfies their need for adornment, and this is why the ornamented cloth hangs over the part of the body which is first seen, just as the leg-coverings adorn only the portions of the leg that are visible, and are a pleasing contrast to their dark skins.

22: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 291 Atayal

Adornment enjoys a degree of importance unknown even to modern luxury in the life of the Atayals, as well as in their possessions, and it requires a disproportionate amount of their time to produce the articles necessary for it. I have never seen an adult Atayal who was not wearing several ornaments on his head, arms, or legs. Only the children [12] have almost no ornaments. Up to about the age of twelve they go entirely naked, and then they wear the same clothing as adults.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302 Atayal

The women wear their hair twisted into a knot. The men wear theirs quite short. It is singed off, or more recently hacked off with a bowie-knife over a bamboo comb with several prongs. From this it may readily be understood why the Atayals consider the cutting of hair as painful. Even more painful is "shaving", for they simply pluck out the hairs, since wearing a beard, an Atayal woman told me through the medium of an interpreter, is considered ugly and indecent.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 177 Atayal

...[MC: An Atayal woman]could not understand why the whites do not like the sticks of bamboo 1 cm. thick and 6 cm. long which she wore in the lobes of her ears. She did admit, however, that the piercing of the ear with a sharp pointed piece of wood and the subsequent enlarging of the hole had been very painful. Apparently this is the reason why rings of brass or bronze, obtained from Japan, have recently begun to be preferred for the ears. Many women wear similar rings as bracelets and occasionally as anklets. I saw as many as 12 rings on one arm. Some young women proudly display glass beads from Osaka strung on strings around their necks, in place of the animal teeth or dried red berries such as the older women wear as necklaces.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 292, 436, 177 Atayal

If such foreign ornaments [MC: i. e. brass rings and glass beads from Japan] have been taken over by the women, the men have kept for themselves the characteristic old ornamental dress. These "things set with precious materials", as the Atayal description runs, have three sizes, which are worn as arm or leg coverings, kinrai, or as a doublet, bintoan, or as a sleeveless jacket, rokosch-kaha. They consist of material dyed red, on which is fastened small pieces of pierced fish-bone arranged in rows and geometrical designs. Since the fish are not to be found in the interior, and the making of these ornaments would be too tiresome and difficult for the Atayals, who have no tools, these ornaments, which the Chinese call schukun, are very highly prized, and their owners like to wear them on festive occasions because they give them a certain amount of prestige. These valuable and lasting, but unnecessary ornamental garments are used as money. The three sizes are worth respectively 3, 5, and 10 yen.

22: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Abbrigines
116, 304 Atayal

Their main ornament is produced by the lengthy and painful process of tattooing the bodies of the men and the women. The man has a strip about the width of two fingers [13] running up from the base of the nose to the hairline, another from the lower lip to the chin, and sometimes also a strip on the breast. The woman is more profusely tattooed. In addition to the design on her forehead, she also has a broad stripe on her cheeks, which runs from the corners of her mouth to her ears like moustache-trainers. The old woman of the tribe, hamangoppu, pricks the design into the skin with a piece of hard wood, and then rubs into it a blue dye, which is obtained by burning certain plants and dissolving the ashes in water.

22: Wiedfeldt--13 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 773, 835 Atayal

According to the Atayal tradition, the first people on earth were a brother and a sister. The sister proposed to the brother that he marry a woman whom she had found for him near the river. The man also found this woman, who differed from his sister only in tattooing, and married her. His sister then disappeared. All the legends which describe the human race as originating from one couple, and which forbid the marriage of brother and sister, get into certain difficulties, such as occur also in Byron's Cain. The Atayals find the solution of the problem in the tattooing, which even now is the sign of being marriageable.

22: Wiedfeldt-- 13[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 582, 881, 721 Atayal

The young man who brings home [illegible] skull that he has captured is permitted to have himself tattooed, and is thus declared capable of marrying, as well as of being admitted to the councils of the tribe. A young girl receives this sign when she has reached sexual maturity and has woven a piece of fabric. In many tribes, a new stripe of tattooing is added for every skull that is captured, just as in modern states diamonds are added to a decoration for special reasons. Among the Atayals this mark differs according to tribe and clan, so that an Atayal Elsa would not have to ask the fatal question, but could distinguish from the place and the density of the strip of tattooing what the family and the nature of her rescuer was.

22: Wiedfeldt--13-14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 351 Atayal

Every Atayal family occupies its own hut. It is about 200 to 500 meters away from the hut of the nearest neighbor, for the Atayal, who keep no cattle, do not need to live in a compact village either to watch their herds, or for their own protection, or even for the purpose of accomplishing more easily the performance of certain joint tasks, such as the building of roads. Their huts usually are on a hillside, somewhat apart from the beaten path, but so located that the only path by which they can gain access to their homes is visible from their doors. The hut is always near running water, and is often surrounded by bamboos and other flexible trees, [14] such as the Chinese of the plain are accustomed to plant around their houses as a protection against typhoons.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342 Atayal

The huts [MC: of the Atayal] are 4 x 4 meters square, or 6 x 6 meters square, and are 1. 5 meters high. They consist of two parts, the bamboo hut proper, and the framework of four corner posts and two door posts, which are connected by cross beams. In building a hut one uses, if possible, trees which stand at the proper distances. The tops of the trees are burned off, and the hut is built in between the trunks. The doorway is 60 cm. wide, and is on the front of the hut, somewhat to one side. The back wall and one side wall each have a small opening of 10 x 10 cm. or 10 x 40 cm., which, like the doorway is covered with a curtain of woven bamboo. The walls consist of split bamboo trunks, which are grooved and fitted into each other, like the type of construction which Marco Polo has described as being used in the summer palace of Kublai Khan. Nothing is nailed together in the entire hut. Everything is tied. The roof, like the walls, is made of bamboo trunks which are covered with bamboo grass and held in place by two cross-pieces. The ground serves as a floor.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 356, 354   Atayal

In one or two corners [MC: of an Atayal hut] at the back there is a bamboo compartment which holds their scanty store of provisions. In the other two corners are the sleeping quarters. They consist of a mat of woven bamboo and leaves, which rests on a bamboo stand about 1 meter high as a protection against ants. There is no other furniture, and as tools there is nothing more than a weaving frame, a spindle, and a pestle for pounding millet. Recently, a few clay vessels have been added, which have been acquired by barter from the Chinese. A hole in the floor serves as a fireplace, and the smoke from it passes out through the window opening.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 343 Atayal

Beside most huts there is a small additional hut built on four posts, the two floors of which can be reached by a ladder. The first floor is the storage space for millet and yams; the second floor is the sleeping quarters of the grown-up daughter or son, but even the smallest hut is said to be sufficient for a couple.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562 Atayal

The material needs of the Atayals are distinguished from ours more by degree than by nature. There is a wide gulf, however, in the way in which they satisfy their needs and the way in which we satisfy ours. The main task of the man is the protection of the family. . .

22: Wiedfeldt--14 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 554 Atayal

A man never goes out unarmed, less for the sake of his own security than for the sake of his prestige.

22: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 224, 721 Atayal

Each Atayal makes his bows [15] out of the flexible wood of the Katsura. He makes his arrows out of bamboo reed. Nowadays most of them have metal tips, which he gets from the Chinese, but formerly they had nothing but wooden tips which had been hardened by fire. He still uses arrows with three wooden tips for shooting birds and as fire-bolts, the destructive effects of which on Japanese houses were demonstrated by the last Schimptonoff war. He also makes himself a spear two meters long, with a tip of wood, antelope horn, or recently of metal forged for this purpose by the Chinese in Amoy. Shields and helmets are unknown. Instead of them, one always carries a net which he has woven himself of ramie, for the purpose of carrying home the game which he has captured or the skulls he has taken.

22: Wiedfeldt--15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 531, 325 Atayal

Presumably within the last generation, they have acquired a knife, which is 40 cm. long, from the Chinese. Every Atayal carves and decorates the handle for this knife himself. His most important and most cherished weapon is the gun, which he has been getting for one or two decades from the Chinese and Japanese, and which he is continuing to get even now, despite the law which forbids the importation of guns. At least, I have seen at the sentinels' posts modern guns which were taken from Atayals by the Aiyu guards. Most of the guns, to be sure, are old breech-loaders, or even muzzleloaders, which might conceivably be dangerous to the person shooting. There is said to be a scarcity of bullets. An Atayal living in the interior is said to have learned how to pour bullets from the Chinese, but can not satisfy the demand.

22: Wiedfeldt--15 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 462, 591, 285 Atayal

The man's obligation is not only to afford protection against enemies, but also to provide shelter against the rigors of the weather. Before he is married, he builds the hut and the small adjoining hut, and prepares them, which takes about four to five months. During his married life he also builds a new hut, if the old one is destroyed by termites or storms, or is used as a place of burial and hence left deserted. He makes all the woven material, from the mats which are used as curtains to the baskets to hold provisions...

The protector, among the Atayals, also becomes an archer and hunter, as well as a fisherman.

22: Wiedfeldt--15-16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 476, 527 Atayal

Since there are no implements for catching fish, fish are caught only once a year, in spite of the great wealth of fish in the mountain streams. This is a cooperatuve undertaking in which the whole tribe takes part. The chief of the tribe sets a day for the gathering of the chiefs of the clans, and also for catching fish in the large river. It is in the fall, when the trout has reached its full growth and the millet is ripe. Every clan sends at least one representative, and the women and children [16] also come. Every man brings along some poison which he has prepared himself from a species of bindweed. When it is dropped into the river, the fish are supposed to come to the surface immediately and even to hurry to shore, so that the participants in the celebration are able to catch them by splashing their hands in the water, amid laughter and joking. They are divided into as many piles as the number of clans represented, in which process the chief of the tribe sees that justice is observed. The same procedure is followed in dividing the clan allotments among the families participating. Since the fish are immediately roasted on the fire and consumed, this fish festival is a convenient way of feeding the people attending the meeting of the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 224 Atayal

The antelope hunt and the wild boar hunts are not carried on by individual clans, but as a joint adventure of several clans in their common hunting-ground. For reasons similar to those which now require a minimum size for the formation of a private hunting preserve, the hunting-grounds of the Atayals are not distributed among the individual families, but to dekane, that is, hunting associations of from four to five clans. They are not permitted to hunt on the hunting-grounds of strange dekane. The hunters lie in wait for the game, attempt to wound it by arrows or bullets, and then pursue it until it collapses under the onslaught of blows from the spears. Speed and endurance in running are among the virtues of the Atayals.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 177 Atayal

Formerly, the dekane [MC: hunting associations composed of several clans] were supposed to have hunted once a month, and thus to have observed a kind of closed season. Since the introduction of guns, they, like the savages, have cut loose, so that now they can only serve in the hunt once every quarter year. About a third of the hunters are armed with guns, and the others have bows and spears.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 281, 437 Atayal

Every hunt lasts about a week, during which time the hunter lives off his booty. In general, they bring back little meat, which is then consumed at once, for the most part. They throw away the skins, which they do not need in their climate, and which they do not know how to tan, either. Recently, a few tribes near the frontier have begun to use them for barter with the Japanese.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [4]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 226, 517, 868   Atayal

Fishing and hunting, especially, are of little use in providing food, but serve as a sport for the purpose of training them in the use of weapons and as a diversion for the leisure time of the Atayal men.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [5]	F-5	(1913) 1914	Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 562	Atayal

If it is a man's job to take care of protection, then it is the woman's duty to provide food and clothing.

22: Wiedfeldt--16-17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 621 Atayal

Every clan is the permanent owner of a fixed piece of arable land of about 100 to 130 hectares in size. No one knows how or when this land was assigned to the clan. [17] Every family of the clan may take as much of this clan land as it wishes.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 311, 241, 177 Atayal

They do not select the fertile valleys, [MC: for purposes of cultivation] but the parcels of land which lie on the slopes and are easier to work. Even in the cases in which individual families have taken over from the Chinese the raising of rice, together with the proper tools, they pay no attention to the unfavorable results of experience and avoid the places that are best adapted and that have a good supply of water, for they lack the ability to stay at a piece of work, which is necessary in raising rice.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 423 Atayal

Since every Atayal family can count on only the labor which its own members supply, and the produce of the fields must furnish them their food, the families have tracts of land which are pretty much the same size. Out of a total of twenty families, only two particularly large families, between which a wedding was about to take place, had 1/5 more land than the usual area of 60 to 70 are. [MC: an are 0.02471 acre]

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 827, 462 Atayal

When a family has selected a piece of land, the man first pulls off or cuts off the branches of the trees on the land, so that the trees will die. The following year he burns off the dry trunks, together with the underbrush and the grass. The Atayals think it ridiculous to claim that these ashes encourage plant growth, and they find the Chinese custom of using human excrement as fertilizer repugnant. When the Formosa maple has red shoots, the woman loosens the ground with a stick or a spear and sows millet. The next year she plants mountain potatoes, or sweet potatoes and beans, and sometimes she plants millet again in the third year.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 311, 241 Atayal

As long as the family is making use of its plot of ground, their possession of it is protected. As soon as they leave it, which happens after two, or sometimes three crops, because the soil will not produce anything any more, any other family of the clan can take possession of it. This does not generally happen, however, before seven years have passed, and the field has become covered with a luxuriant growth of bushes and trees.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [5]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 461, 311   Atayal

The Atayals have only one crop a year, and they consider the efforts of the Chinese to get two crops a year from the soil as a proof of poor work, because they have to work twice instead of once for their food. The fields are protected against the depredations of antelopes and wild boars mostly by means of a bamboo hedge, which is considered a logical part of the man's work. Corresponding to the rotation of crops, every family has three or four non-contiguous pieces of land.

22: Wiedfeldt--17-18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 177 Atayal

Some 30 to 40 are[MC: an are 0. 02471 acre] are planted with millet, 20 are with mountain potatoes or sweet potatoes, and 10 are with bananas and beans. At harvest time, the woman picks the millet [18] and treads it out with her feet, or digs the potatoes with a stick. The activity of the Atayals in securing their food consists, thus, in burning off the stand of trees, sowing the seed, and garnering the fruit. Thus it is really only a process of facilitating the activity of nature. It seems questionable to me whether one may use Hahn's designation of hoe cultivation, since the tool which is characteristic of this type of cultivation, the hoe, is lacking. There are only isolated instances in which the Atayals have adopted the Chinese method of hoeing to a depth of 5 cm.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 412, 482 Atayal

Their chief [MC: agricultural] tools are a stick, a spear, or an antelope horn. These are used for loosening the ground and for removing the product. The stick also serves as a support and for carrying loads on their shoulders. Aside from this, they also use the hunting net for transporting products. The long knife which we have already mentioned is carried nowadays by most of the men. They use it as a hatchet, a sickle, or a hoe.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 243, 251, 415   Atayal

For winnowing the millet and the rice they use bowl-shaped baskets. They store it in shallow baskets.

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22: Wiedfeldt--18 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 177, 262, 857 Atayal

If the Atayals may be said not to practice agriculture in the proper sense of the word, it may also be said that they do not do any cattle-farming. They have not domesticated any animal, nor do they need any, either for draught animals or for food. In the regions along the frontier, they have recently learned from the Chinese to raise the small black pigs, and they have also become acquainted with the Chinese method of keeping wild boars, according to which the family which raises boars gets a young pig from every litter. From the same source they have introduced the few chickens that they have, which are kept as a luxury. . . since they, like the Chinese, do not eat eggs. Even the dog, which one now finds in almost every hut, the Atayals are said to owe to the Chinese, and to get them from them by barter. The dog is not used for hunting nor for guarding the hut, but is a playmate of the children. It is apparently more attached to the woman, whom it helps to pass the time, than it is to the man.

22: Wiedfeldt--18-19 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286 Atayal

The Atayal woman works harder at providing clothing than she does at providing food. She picks and beats the green ramie grass, soaks the sun-dried fibres in water, and beats them again. She spins the fibres into thread by walking around the stationary spindle. She weaves the fibres in a simple pattern, similar to a netting stitch. She makes them into pieces of cloth in sizes to suit the special use to which they are to be put. [19] One end of the threads is wound around a hollow piece of wood which the weaver holds between her feet, and the other end is fastened to a bamboo rod which she ties to her body. The lengthwise threads are raised and lowered in groups by a long shuttle, and the weaver forces the woof through with a bamboo stick. Individual threads are dyed in advance, so that as the weaving proceeds stripes or square figures are formed. The commonest color is a rusty brown which is made from the sap of a root, and is perhaps used to simulate drops of blood. In addition, the greyish blue which is used for tattooing is used, and recently a bright red that they get from the Chinese has come into use. They are especially fond of red and rusty brown, perhaps because they are complementary to the perpetual green of their surroundings. . .

22: Wiedfeldt--19 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 462, 512, 533 Atayal

From the economic point of view, Atayal life is based on the cooperation of man and woman in the family. Estimated exactly, the feminine contribution is greater and more essential, as is shown by the moving lament of an Atayal widower:

No woman weaves me garments,
None brings me yams,
None brings me wood,
None brings water,
None plants the fields,
None prepares the meal
For me, starving,
None cleans my hut,
None helps me.

The activities listed here, together with the usual interruptions, keep a woman busy for almost the whole day. Without interruptions, they would take up about a third of a day. A man is busy only at intervals, and is mainly concerned with building the hut and clearing the land, and he scarcely does a twentieth or a thirtieth part of what he is capable of doing.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 581 Atayal

In accordance with its character of an indispensable economic partnership, marriage among the Atayals is a universally recognized arrangement designed for permanence.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582 Atayal

In their rigid notions of the economic prerequisites which are necessary for marriage, the Atayals go further than our modern demands for a mere age limit, and permit only those to marry whose tattooing is the outward and visible sign that they are adequate to the most important economic tasks that marriage imposes upon them. Marriage between relatives is not permitted in the direct line as well as to the fourth degree of the collateral line.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [3]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 161, 177   Atayal

In contrast to the Japanese and other Oriental peoples, marriage brokers are unknown among the Atayals. The young people become acquainted freely. The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz. The Atayal belles are said to have become less exigent in this respect lately, and to be satisfied with the simple line of tattooing, as a result of the excess number of women after the homicidal fights with the Japanese. The lover does his own courting, or sends his father to the girl's father to set the price of the bride.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 582 Atayal

Generally the young man takes his bride, who is usually a few years older than himself, home to his clan. The bride's family thus loses a worker, and is compensated therefore by the bridegroom or his family to the extent of 25 to 30 rokoschkahas. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money].

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591, 583 Atayal

Sometimes, if the bridegroom can not get together the price of the bride, or if the girl is the only living child of her parents, the bridegroom enters the family of the bride, and works out the price of the bride, so to speak, in two years. During this time, he and his wife live in the small adjoining hut.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [6]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 584   Atayal

Engagements are unknown, as a rule. If a young man wants to assure himself of his sweetheart, he pays a part of the price of the bride. As long as this sum is not returned, which, of course, might happen any time, the girl is bound, while a suitor who changes his mind loses his payment.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [7]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 591   Atayal

If the bridegroom and the bride are from different clans, he is permitted to choose in which of the two clans he wishes to settle. Every clan welcomes an increase in workers and fighters... As a rule, however, the bridegroom builds his hut on the land belonging to his clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 241, 585, 177 Atayal

If the son of a family wishes to marry, the family plants a larger piece of land with millet. At the time of the millet harvest, when there are enough provisions on hand for a year, the marriage takes place without any religious celebration. The head of the clan in which the couple will live in the future, and the members of the clan are invited to it. First they accompany the parents of the bridegroom to the bride's hut, where her parents serve them millet wine. Then all of them go to the new hut for the wedding feast, to which each guest contributes millet or millet wine... Recently they have begun to follow the Chinese custom of slaughtering a pig or killing a hen for the marriage feast. After a few hours, generally after a round dance has been danced and sung, the guests leave the hut wishing the couple many children.

22: Wiedfeldt--21 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586 Atayal

"The main purpose of marriage is the begetting and rearing of children." This precept...holds good among the Atayals, for whose economic existence this is also necessary. Childless marriages are therefore immediately dissolved. Under other circumstances also, marriages can be dissolved at any time and without presenting definite grounds. The party who desires the marriage to be dissolved, however, must leave the other party as well off as it was before the marriage. If the man desires the separation, the woman simply goes back home with her children. If the woman desires the separation, her family must pay back to the man the price that he had paid for her, so that he can get another woman to manage his household. In the case of marriages in which the man worked out the price of the woman, the situation is reversed. If the man desires the separation, he has to pay a sum equivalent to the price of the bride. If the woman desires the separation, the man is obliged to go. Children under three years of age always stay with the mother. Older children, who are always in great demand and can be sold at any time for adoption, never stay with the party who wishes to dissolve the marriage, but with the other party. If children and the rearing of them constituted an economic burden, it would not be so easy to dissolve marriages.

22; Wiedfeldt--21-22 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 593 Atayal

In spite of the emergence of this dark economic side in the making and unmaking of marriages, [MC: see preceding paragraphs in 116] the married life of the Atayals [22] makes a pleasant, or, as the Japanese say, a European impression, not merely because man and woman go arm in arm and kiss each other on the lips, but because the woman plays an active role, and has equal rights. As Tschinsappa (head of the house), or Tonsappa (head of the family), the man very properly is the leader in marriage, and he alone has certain rights and duties in the clan and the tribe. The women and the grown children take part only in the clan and tribal festivities. Of course, the Atayal man does not possess absolute mastery in his own house... Physically, the Atayal woman is scarcely inferior to the man in point of strength, skill, and endurance, with the exception of speed in running. Intellectually she is more curious and more alert. When I asked a question about the purpose of tattooing, an Atayal woman answered me through the medium of an interpreter with this question, "why do you wear a beard?" She represents an economic value which the price of the bride puts in terms of capital. The greater part of the household rests on her shoulders. Consequently, she does not in the least occupy the position of a work animal or a slave, but is equal in rank to the man... Outwardly this is reflected in the fact that when she marries she retains her two maiden names. Children have the father's first name as their second name.

22: Wiedfeldt--22 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 595, 837 Atayal

The Atayals are strictly monogamous, and look with contempt upon the Chinese practice of swelling the ranks of the family by concubines and upon the Japanese Geishas. Adultery is consequently rare, and is severely punished.

22: Wiedfeldt--22 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 836, 847   Atayal

Sexual intercourse between unmarried persons...troubles nobody. It should be rare in view of the ease with which a family can be supported. Illegitimate children are killed by the father of the girl as illegal offspring, in spite of the fact that such a high value is attached to children.

22: Wiedfeldt--22-23 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 837, 684, 597 Atayal

If a married woman commits adultery, she is killed by her husband or his clan, and the hut of the adulterer is burned. In addition to this, the guilty man, or his clan, has to pay the injured husband compensation as a substitute for the murdered woman. The amount of the payment is fixed by the head of the clan according to the adulterer between 25 and 30 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money] If the adulterer is unmarried, he has no hut that can be burned, and he only has to pay half the compensation. If the guilty party or his clan does not pay [23] the injured party steals children out of the clan andsells them for adoption until the sum has been made up. No one knows what happens when a married man commits adultery with a single girl. To the Atayals, the real crime is adultery on the part of a wife.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 842, 844, 846 Atayal

The birth of a child is not considered anything special, and takes place without a midwife or any other help. By the following day the mother has resumed her usual activities. After a few days a fire is lighted in front of the hut, in order that the purifying force of fire may drive out the impurities of birth. In contrast to other far-eastern peoples, boys and girls are equally highly prized.

22t Wiedfeldt--23 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 847, 553, 851   Atayal

The father has the right to kill a child, or more accurately, to have someone else kill it, for he never does it himself. With the high value placed upon children, this never occurs except when a child is blind, or deaf, or burdened with some other kind of physical defect. It has the effect, if you will, of making the race a select one. There is no punishment for killing a child that has not yet reached the age of two or three years, and hence does not yet have a name. In view of the high rate of infant mortality, they do not give the child a name until there is some prospect that it will survive. In naming it, the name of one of the grandparents, or of a famous head-hunter of the clan, is placed before the first name of the father.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [3]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 862   Atayal

The mother nurses the child until she ceases to have any milk before the birth of the next child.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [4]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 868   Atayal

The father instructs the boys in the making and use of bows and arrows, and the mother teaches the girls how to prepare food and make clothing.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 861, 736 Atayal

The relationship between parents and children is apparently good, and is based on obedience, but a child is never disciplined in the presence of others. Children remain in their parents' house until they are married, and work for them. After marriage there is no further economic bond between them. The children neither receive help from the parents, nor would they think of helping them. In cases of need, the clan intervenes, but there is no family sentiment, nor activities on the part of the relatives.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 163, 165 Atayal

A family seldom has more than three children living. The largest family had ten children at a time as a result of multiple births; the smallest had none at all after the death of several children.

22: Wiedfeldt--23-24 F-5 (1913) 1914
116, 755, 887

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

They do not lack medical aid entirely. [24] Old women, called hamangoppu, of whom there are about 30 among the Schimptonoff, or one to every two clans, do not limit their activities to tattooing and prophesying with the aid of a bamboo wand whether the patient will die, or whether the young woman will have a child, etc., but they also dispense medicines compounded from herbs which they have gathered themselves. In return for them, they receive gifts valued at from one to two binto-an. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money]

22: Wiedfeldt--24 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 764 Atayal

If some one dies, the family mourns for a whole day, during which time no one sets foot in the hut. The body is buried in a deep hole in the burial place in the hut, and the personal property of the deceased is placed in the grave also. Thus, a bow, a knife, a gun, are buried with a man. With the woman are buried her loom, spindle, and rice pestle. Clothes and a pipe are buried with both men and women. It is believed that they will need all these things later. There are no funeral services, and mourning clothing is unheard of.

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 768, 587   Atayal

On the following day [MC: after a death and burial in an Atayal family], a man who has lost his wife or a child begins to build a new hut. After three months he moves into it and if he is a widower, he marries again. If the man dies, the widow also marries after three months, when her new husband had finished the hut. In this case, the widow brings the man into her clan. The old hut is regarded as a burial chamber. It is left untouched, and it soon falls apart.

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [3]	F-5	(1913) 1914	Formosan Aborigines
116, 428	Atayal

Produce, provisions, and, since recently, also dogs, chickens, and pigs, are left to the surviving partner. Children who have lost one parent do not inherit anything, so that there are no prerogatives attached to primogeniture.

22: Wiedfeldt--23 [7] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 164 Atayal

The Atayals are said to be very susceptible to disease, and succumb more frequently than do the supposedly weaker civilized individuals.

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22: Wiedfeldt--24 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 768, 736 Atayal

Until the widow remarries, she is, so to speak, the guardian of the children. If she is unable to act in this capacity because of illness or any other reason, a neighboring member of the clan, if possible, one of her husband's relatives, or the head of the clan, assumes the duty of caring for the children. The children then have to work for the household of their guardian. During an illness, the nearest neighbors, both men and women, help to keep the household going.

22: Wiedfeldt--24 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 762 Atayal

If the Atayal discovers that he is suffering from a persistent, incurable illness, or when he is suffering from the infirmities of old age, he commits suicide by taking the poison used for fishing, which is on hand in every hut. No one else has a right to kill a sick person, but every one has the ancient right to dispose of his own body, when he is only a burden and can no longer be useful.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586 Atayal

This partnership of two individuals for living and for economic purposes which we find in the Atayal family can be dissolved by divorce or by the death of one partner.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 602, 619   Atayal

The Atayals have developed two other social institutions which are superior to the individual and are independent of life and death, as well as of the will of the individual. They outlast the changing generations and give stability and strength to the whole Atayal community. Just as each individual belongs to a family, each family is a member of a clan, and each clan in turn is a member of a tribe. No clan can leave its tribe, and no family can leave its clan, unless it is excluded by the decision of the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [3]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 621   Atayal

The clan, *karan*, or *aran*, called *scha*, or village, by the Chinese, consists of from 8 to 30 families which are interrelated and which act for each other, like the Japanese *goningumi*. Individual clans trace their tradition back to a common ancestor, but all of them must have some blood ties.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 622 Atayal

The clan has two spokesmen: the clan chief and the full assembly. The office of chief is hereditary. During his lifetime, the clan head designates the worthiest of his sons as his successor. If none of his sons is worthy, he selects a younger brother or another relative... The head of the clan almost never retires from office before his death. Like many another official who has long since become incapable of action, he likes to die in harness. The nomination of a successor is designed to avoid a break in continuity and to make it possible for the present head to exert some influence on the future.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [5]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 623, 614, 527   Atayal

The clan assembly consists of the heads of all the families and the successful headhunters of the member families. It meets when summoned by the head of the clan, which is regularly on the occasion of the two millet festivals. Aside from these two regular meetings, it meets when it is necessary to impose a punishment or to conduct some legal business.

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [6]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 476   Atayal

The clan is a family on a larger scale, amongst whose members there is complete solidarity. Like the family, its prime tasks are economic ones, although they are not so vital and are limited to those which constitute the obligation of the man of the family. It is an assembly of the men, and it undertakes those things which require more than the strength or the ability of the individual man. Thus, it takes care of protection against numerous enemies.

22: Wiedfeldt--25-26 F-6 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 726 Atayal

The members of the clan go into battle together. If one of them falls, the clan is defeated, and the others go back home with the consciousness of having performed their duty. [26] The Japanese take advantage of this custom in fighting with the Atayals. They attempt to kill one member of as many clans as possible.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 432, 574 Atayal

The arable land is the property of the clan. It protects the members in the undisturbed possession of the fields which he has planted. If one clan becomes much larger than another, for example, if it becomes much larger than one which has become reduced in numbers in fighting with the Japanese, the larger clan sometimes buys a piece of arable land from the small clan, paying it about 10 rokoschkaha [MC: clothing used as money] for a hillside plot of 12 hectares. The members of the clan fix the payment of this price by the families in the clan assembly, according to their funds. The families that settle on this hillside have to contribute more heavily. Also, the fines imposed upon the clan are collected in the assembly, as is also the price of the bride for a member whose family can not raise the money, but whom they wish to retain in the clan. Fines are paid to the head of the clan who is entitled to receive them. He organizes a feast with them, or hands the fines over to the family to whom they are due, and the family uses them for the same purpose.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 476, 614, 736   Atayal

In the hunts, the heads of the clans who take part act as directors and leaders for the members of their clans, for the dekane [MC: hunting association] has no head. If a family belonging to the clan is in distress because of wounds received in war, illness, or death, the neighbors help out, for the clan is a solid unit in aiding each of its members. Poverty or even begging is unknown.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 527 Atayal

The degree to which the clan feels itself a solid unit may be seen in the common clan festivals at the time of planting and harvesting the millet. These festivals generally precede the tribal festivals, and only members of the clan are permitted to attend them. No woman who has married into another clan may attend them.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 626 Atayal

The solidarity which exists among the members of the clan is clearly evident in the protection of the member families not only against assaults on their possessions from outside, but even to a greater degree against injuries from within. They help the injured husband or father, but they also encroach upon his position. They give this protection of property, person, and marriage partly in an indirect manner, by virtue of their numbers, and partly directly, in accordance with fixed customs, which correspond exactly to those that are in effect for the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--26-27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 641, 619 Atayal

If the judicial function holds second place in the clan, in the tribe it holds first place in scope, although in importance it is inferior to the political activity of the tribe. Among the Schimptonoff, the members of the tribe are called koto-ro-ryong, [27] people living along the same great river. Among the Taroku, they are called koga-ru-gaya, people with the same customs. As the names indicate, the common bond of the tribe is not blood relationship, but the fact of occupancy of the same territory, or the fact that they have the same political and judicial customs.

22: Wiedfeldt--27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 177.64 Japanese
636.64

The tribe has the same organs as the clan. The designation applied to the chief, maraho, or moruhuk, means venerable old man, also leader of the army. The Japanese Governor-General is called by the Atayals the maraho of the Japanese. The chief is by no means the richest member of the tribe, and he lives in a hut just like the other members of the tribe. His title is hereditary, as it is in the clan, but a tribal chief is never also a clan chief. This office is said to have been held by the family of the present chief of the Schimptonoff [MC: an Atayal tribe] from the beginning of the tribe. At any rate, their position has not been disputed. Partly from lack of knowledge and partly for political reasons, the Japanese have often appointed Atayals who were friendly to them as chiefs, but their appointees have never been able to obtain any influence or to be successful.

22: Wiedfeldt--27 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 701   Atayal

If a man brings back a great many enemy skulls from a war, he is sometimes called a boku-maraho, an honorary chief, and he has the right to be the first to express his opinion in the tribal assembly, after the maraho. From this one might assume that the present family acquired the chieftaincy because of the special prowess of one of their ancestors in battle. Occasionally the tribal chief resigns his title in favor of a successor whom he has appointed, for example, if a war is imminent, or if major hostilities have broken out between several clans. Like the old German duke, the maraho is, as his name indicates, primarily a leader in battle. He prepares the ground for the fight, he chooses the positions, he arranges the units, and he is himself the leader in the fighting. As Clausewitz has said, war is only the continuation of politics, using other means, and thus the maraho is also the political leader of his tribe. He carries on negotiations with the Japanese and with the other "savage" peoples, and with other Atayal tribes. By means of his prestige, he protects their embassadors against over-zealous members of the tribe by keeping them always close to him. In making plans for the wars, and especially in political negotiations, he can not act independently, but his power is limited. If things take an unexpected turn in the negotiations, he must obtain new authority.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 527, 643 Atayal

The two great millet festivals, in which the tribal chief is the leader, also serve to maintain political solidarity and to foster a harmonious attitude in the tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 619, 692, 648   Atayal

The person who is the political representative and the military leader also has sufficient prestige to handle legal business. If it is a question of matters which concern individuals of the same clan, the clan chief is capable of dealing with them, but if members of different clans are involved, the tribal chief handles them. There is no difference between them, except the one that has just been mentioned, as to the type of matters that they handle. The procedure is the same also. If members of different tribes are involved, there is no legal procedure, if this expression is permissible, for there is no institution in their society which is superior to the tribe, and which could decide which one was right. The matter either is left unsettled, or force of arms determines who is in the right.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681 Atayal

Penal usage is for the most part highly developed among the Atayals, just as it forms the part of the law which was codified long ago among the Chinese.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 684 Atayal

Clan and tribe cooperate in the punishment of adultery.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682 Atayal

If anyone deliberately kills a member of a clan, he is killed in turn by the family of the victim, with the help of the clan, if this is needed. A fine of from 15 to 20 rokosch-kaha [MC: clothing used as money] is imposed by the tribal chief for the deliberate killing of a member of the tribe. If it is not paid within the appointed time as a ransom for the murderer, he is killed. If someone is accidentally killed, which is not infrequent in the hunt, where many hunters crowd around the wounded animal and make blind thrusts with their spears, the tribal chief sets a fine of from two to six bintoan [MC: clothing of less value than rokosch-kaha], according to the circumstances and to the means of the criminal.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [6] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 682, 851, 847 Atayal

As long as children do not have a name, there is no punishment for killing them. A child that is capable of running around alone at a distance from the hut always has a name.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [7] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681, 574, 692 Atayal

The fine is considered something not good, and is therefore spent by the clan or the family that receives it for a clan feast, the schukun [MC: the ornamented clothing with which the fine was paid.] being exchanged for a pig or for sake. In many tribes, the clan chief keeps the fine and adds it to a fund out of which he occasionally pays fines.

22: Wiedfeldt--28-29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 691, 421 Atayal

Civil cases among the Atayals [29] really amount to nothing more than contests about property and possession, the former between clans and the latter between families. . . . Since there is no surveying and no fences, disputes about property lines are frequent and are difficult to decide. The Atayals have no written records. They do not know how to deal with the conflicting statements of different people, no matter how greatly they rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses because of their great love of the truth. . . They do not consider it feasible to take the short additional step of determining a contested boundary line according to the testimony of the oldest people. They think this is too difficult and too uncertain in view of the importance of the matter.

22: Wiedfeldt--29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 721, 695 Atayal

If two clan heads have a dispute concerning a piece of land, the tribal chief first discusses the matter, and then fixes a period of a few days, after which they are to appear again, bringing with them all the skulls that the members of their clans have been able to capture in the meantime. The clan chief who presents the most skulls gets the land. If a gun is stolen and the thief can not be found, the clans which are under suspicion, but never more than ten at the most, are ordered by the tribal chief to go out on a head-hunt. The clan that does not bring back any skulls, or the one that brings back the smallest number, is considered the thief. If a supposed murderer denies his deed, he has to present a certain number of skulls within a fixed time. The number of skulls rises according to how well founded the suspicions are. If he brings the skulls, he is not guilty.

22: Wiedfeldt--29-30 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 114, 881, 695 Atayal

Although Bullock and many others after him write that "the wild savages of Formosa seem to carry on the practice of man hunting out of mere devilry," a somewhat more thorough investigation shows that the hunting of skulls has a very definite legal significance, and hence springs from other grounds than mere devilry. [30] Successful skull hunting is taken as a sign that one has come of age, and is accepted as evidence in penal and civil law.

22: Wiedfeldt--30-31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 721, 609, 177.72 Japanese
636.72

In the Atayal concept, the members of the tribe are the only ones who should be protected. They are permitted to hunt only savages of other tribes, Japanese, and Chinese, and quite understandably, Europeans, but the number of these is very small. The first group retaliates by conducting their own skull hunts, or by special punitive and plundering forays. The second group is protected by a strong military and police force, which punish such excesses as severely as possible. The third group is victimized comparatively more often but even in this case the Japanese occasionally take harsh measures against a tribe that has a particularly large amount of skull hunting chalked up against it, and force it to withdraw behind the Aiyu line. Inasmuch as unrestrained head hunting on the part of the members of the tribe has seriously endangered the tribe formerly and now in particular, when this practice endangers its independence and its very existence, head hunting is only permitted in the border tribes and supposedly in most of the tribes of the interior when it is ordered by the tribal chief. In many of the tribes of the interior the clan chief also has this privilege. In many tribes, it takes place only in the fall, after the tribal assembly, so that apparently all legal contests are postponed until that time. Everywhere a young man who wants to acquire the skull which will show that he has come of age must control himself until a skull hunt has been declared open for his clan. This regulation does not make the skull hunt any the less dangerous for strangers who approach the territory of the tribe, for they never know whether or not a skull hunt

22: Wiedfeldt--31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 554, 802, 614 Atayal

On the basis of this kind of evidence [MC: i. e. skull trophies], disputed land is awarded to a clan, or a penalty is imposed on a clan. The head of the clan then assigns the land to the family concerned, or demands that they comply with the penalty. In business which concerns only the clan, the procedure is the same. All payments are made by the clan heads, with the occasional assistance of a wise man, that is, one who can surely count up to 30. The payment of the price for a bride, and the adoption settlements, etc., are also mostly made with the help of the head of the clan, for the ordinary Atayal can count up to 5 at the most. In decisions of this sort, where there are two steps, one of which is carried out between clans and the other within the clan, there is no difficulty in putting them into effect, as the tangible nature of what is generally recognized as evidence is a help.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [2]	F-5	(1913) 1914	Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 686, 622, 626	Atayal

It is unheard of for the head of a clan not to submit to the decision of the tribe, for example, not to pay a fine at once. If a family or an individual does not submit to the judgment of the clan, which very rarely happens, the clan can suspend the family or the individual from the clan. If the suspended member is old, he is not taken in anywhere, and he perishes in misery. If he is young, as a rule he finds employment in a clan which lives at some distance and belongs to another tribe, for all additional labor is very welcome. To be sure, he and his family are a favorite objective of skull hunts on the part of his former comrades in the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 622, 202 Atayal

The full assembly of all clan heads and honorary chiefs meets at the invitation of the tribal chief. The time and the place, in case it should be held somewhere else but in the hut of the tribal chief, as well as the agenda, are announced to the nearest clan heads by swift runners. These clan heads, in turn, similarly inform the clan heads who live near them.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 527, 484, 576 Atayal

This koto-kumai-roh, or common council [MC: the full assembly of all clan heads of the tribe and honorary chiefs]... meets as a rule at the time of the millet harvest. It begins early in the morning, since most of the clan heads have used the previous day for traveling, and it lasts one to three hours. Connected with it are the community fishing expedition, which supplies the food, and on the next morning, the tribal millet festival. The chief of the tribe opens, conducts, and closes the meeting. He presents the agenda briefly, and then yields the floor to such honorary chiefs and then such clan heads as have something to say. While someone is talking, all the others listen attentively in silence, without interrupting him in any way. Each individual speaks only a few minutes, for it is considered improper to take a long time to express one's opinion.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 646, 721 Atayal

The negotiations [MC: carried on in an Atayal tribal assembly called koto-kumai-roh] concern political and military affairs. The koto-kumai-roh makes the decisions and confers upon the tribal chief the necessary powers, according to which he acts. The assembly has nothing to do with his judicial powers. Nevertheless, the assembly takes this opportunity to question the clan heads concerned in any infraction of the law that has taken place, and on their confession, a penalty is imposed or a skull hunt is ordered. Decisions are for the most part made unanimously. Otherwise, voting is by rising from the squatting position. A simple majority decides, and the vote of the tribal chief is used to break a tie. In general, a minority is bound by the decision. In the tribes of the interior, which have not yet had any fights with the Japanese, only those clans are said to take part in a fight whose heads have voted for it, while the other clans remain at home, but are not permitted to give aid to the enemy.

22: Wiedfeldt--30-31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 721, 609, 177.72 Japanese
636.72

has been ordered for precisely that time. At any rate, the time before the millet harvest is the safest, and the time after it is the most dangerous. This unpleasant custom is the only thing that gives the slightest justification to the application of the otherwise unjustified designation of savages to the Atayals. It makes no difference whether a skull is that of a man, woman, or child, provided only that the child is over two years old, for the skulls are not captured in battle, but are taken by tricking and surprising the victim. [31] According to the statistics, which are surely incomplete, about 300 Chinese and 40 Japanese are killed annually in the skull hunts. Some 300 Chinese and 20 Japanese are wounded. There is no clue to the number of savages who are captured, but it must be almost as large as the number of Chinese, in the border districts alone. In spite of all the punitive expeditions and all the efforts on the part of the Japanese border patrol, almost no progress has been made in suppressing this unpleasant custom up to now, because it is closely connected with the legal aspect of the life of the Atayals. The most success seems to have been obtained in cases where the Atayals have been told: "Skulls are skulls. Hunt monkey skulls, or antelope skulls".

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 609, 648, 721 Atayal

Just as the struggles with the Japanese have had the effect of producing greater solidarity within the tribes, so in recent years, under the same sort of pressure, there have arisen temporary alliances of several tribes, but never of a majority of tribes, for the purpose of a joint military expedition. In spite of the enthusiastic support given these joint expeditions by many of the tribal chiefs, the Atayals have no confidence in these products of extreme necessity. My question as to whether tribes of different savage peoples had ever united for the purpose of a joint military venture, aroused only laughter and amazed headshakings among the Atayals present.

22: Wiedfeldt--33 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 182 Atayal

In this modest study of the life and activity of the Atayals it has often been apparent that their needs and their means of satisfying them dovetail neatly... with their institutions and their customs. The Atayals have a narrow, but well integrated culture, and despite centuries of contact with the pervasive influence of a superior Chinese culture, they have up to now taken over from it only a few non-essentials. In all the essentials, however, unlike the other peoples of Formosa, they have remained aloof from its influence. That these peculiarly stratified cultural conditions, with which the Atayals still are perfectly satisfied today, existed before they had any contact with the Chinese, and the reasons why they have remained stationary so long can only be explained if we can bore a special hole in this petrified culture on another occasion. For our purposes it is sufficient to assume that Atayal culture is not an isolated pocket, but a stratum of considerable extent.

22: Wiedfeldt--33 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 412, 241, 372   Atayal

If man, as Franklin says, is an animal that makes tools, then the Atayals, with the implements and weapons that have been enumerated, are well past that boundary, although they lack hoes, fishing-rods, and all kinds of metal tools. They have mastered fire, and they can clear the land for planting by using fire.

22: Wiedfeldt--33[3]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 322, 503   Atayal

They know how to build huts, lay canals about a hundred meters long, or bend strong wood, by softening it in water, propping it up at both ends and weighting it down with stones in the middle.

22: Wiedfeldt--33-34 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 417, 283, 286 Atayal

They can build suspension bridges up to 30 meters long out of Katsura wood, and they can span mountain streams with strips of rattan, the ends of which are fastened to projecting rocks or trees. [34] Although these are only continuations of the trees that overhang the mountain brooks of Formosa, and which provide a natural connection which is somewhat strengthened by the rattan, nevertheless this process of making bridges by tieing the trees together is a considerable technical accomplishment on the part of the Atayal men. On the feminine side, it is paralleled by the weaving of garments with the primitive loom. Perhaps this may even be regarded as a superior accomplishment; the ramie grass, like the hemp, passes through their hands nine times.

22: Wiedfeldt--34 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 221 Atayal

Whether the Atayal man merely keeps himself busy, or whether he works, may be doubtful. Still, the annual clearing of the arable land should be considered a regularly recurring, conscious effort directed toward a definite and vital purpose. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the Atayal woman really works in the economic sense of the word, with her planting, harvesting, and preparation of meals, her spinning, dyeing, and weaving. In any case, in contrast to modern conditions, the woman is more of a worker than the man.

22: Wiedfeldt--34 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 533, 461   Atayal

Neither men nor women sing at their work. They only sing when they are sitting in the bush, and they do so to the accompaniment of their instruments which resemble jew's harps, or they sing when they dance after partaking of the millet wine. Even when men are working together, as for example in the hunt, or when they are fishing, or making bridges, there are neither songs nor rythmical cries, nor shouts of encouragement to be heard, which is a thing that astonishes the Chinese and Japanese. Since this is so, there is no basis for the assumption that among the Atayals work originated from the rhythmical games.

22: Wiedfeldt--34-35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 592 Atayal

Men and women never work together. Each has his or her special occupation in the household... They do not have the division of labor which is common among us today, according to which the man is active outside the house as a producer, and inside the house as a consumer, while the woman occupies herself only with the affairs of the household, but is not engaged in productive economic activity for the benefit of the household. Among the Atayals both parties have their special activities in the household, without which neither the household nor their entire existence would be possible. The man provides protection against the enemy and the weather; he makes the land fit for cultivation, makes weapons and wicker-work. [35] The woman plants and harvests, spins, and weaves the clothes, prepares food and drink. The Atayal household is thus a productive community based on the division of labor...

22: Wiedfeldt--35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 304, 756 Atayal

Division of labor among the Atayals has not yet progressed to the point of vocational training, for every family produces all that it needs itself. There are no artisans. The only exception to this rule is that of the prophetess and medicine-woman, who receives payment for her poisonous drinks, her prophecies, and especially for her tattooing, in the formof gifts which are scaled according to the means of the client, a method of calculation which is current among modern doctors also. The only profession which has been able to develop because it finds a field for its accomplishments in the custom of tattooing, is therefore one of the activities of the women, and, if one considers tattooing treatment of the body, and hence an activity which falls in the sphere of the doctor, it is a profession which in our day women have had to struggle to wring from the monopolistic control of men, while among the Atayals it is handed down from mother to daughter.

2: Wiedfeldt--35 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
6, 463, 177, 231 Atayal

the keeping of boars has recently produced a kind of side-line for individual Atayal
milies, this is a case of a recent innovation borrowed from Chinese economy.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 463, 224 Atayal

Several women never work together. If several men work together, as for example in making bridges, fishing, or in war, there is no division of labor, but each one does the same thing as his neighbor. They have no ability to organize their occupations. If in hunting, 1/3 of them have guns and act as shooters, while 2/3 of them have old-style weapons and are busier as beaters and runners, without their knowing it the lack of guns has become an advantage.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [4]　F-5　(1913) 1914　Formosan Abórigines
116, 592, 425　Atayal

The Atayal household subsists on the complementary labors of man and woman on a piece of arable land of about 70 are. [MC: one are. = 0.2471 acre or 100 square meters] There is no lack of land for the family. Therefore it has no market value for them, but it does have one for the clan, as is shown by the prices which the clan pays, when it can get a piece of land under favorable circumstances, which is rarely.

22: Wiedfeldt--35-36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 586, 597 Atayal

Labor, however, is harder to get [MC: than land], and hence female labor, which the man generally has to provide, has a corresponding market value of from 25 to 30 rokosch-kaha [MC: ornamented clothing used as money]. This same value [36] serves as the basis of compensation when a marriage is dissolved. If elderly parents have no more unmarried children to help out in their household, they buy young people as laborers. If they have no means, the clan helps to make up the price. In every tribe, 60 to 70 children are sold in this way annually.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586, 858, 597, 768 Atayal

They [MC: children]are offered for sale when marriages are dissolved, on the occasion of the death of one of the parents, when the remaining partner remarries, in which cases children are often a burden or become unnecessary, and thus are put up for sale. A brother or sister may also be sold when a son of the family is to be married, in order to raise the price of the bride for him. This does not suffice, however, to fill the demand for labor. I myself have seen an old Schimptonoff come to the Japanese police commissioner leading a Chinese boy by the hand, and ask for permission to buy him from his parents, which he was forbidden to do, according to Japanese regulations. The price for a ten-year old boy, --younger children are not bought as a rule, --amounts to from 10 to 13 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] For a ten-year old girl, who can not weave yet, the price is 7 to 10. If the girl knows how to weave, she is worth the same amount as the boy.

22: Wiedfeldt--36 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 567, 597, 886 Atayal

Since the most common of all the contracts of our day, the labor contract, is not known of, either as a contract for service or for labor, the only possibility which ageing people have of getting the necessary labor to enable them to live is purchase. The expression "purchase" gives the wrong impression, and is merely used for the sake of brevity. Just as the price paid for a bride is compensation paid to the family for the loss of labor, so the purchase of children is more a question of adoption by compromise with the physical parents. Children thus acquired are considered real members of the family, and are in no way treated as slaves. For example, it never happens that a girl is bought for sexual purposes. The children are said never to run away. If they did, their family would have to pay back the money which they received for them.

22: Wiedfeldt--36-37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 173, 177, 292, 436 Atayal

For all settlements and compensations, for the purchase of land by the clans, and the reimbursement of the prophetess, the Atayals have a definite means of exchange which has the same value for all of the Atayal tribes: the materials [MC: which are set] with precious things, which are usually of three kinds. [MC: See page 12 in category 116 or 436 for description] The general acceptance of this indigenous money is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made. [37] Ostensibly the Atayals have never wished to learn how to make these things. An old Taroku told me through the medium of the interpreter that they had gotten the precious materials long ago from white men, but the other Tarokus and all the Schimptonoffs denied the truth of this improbable tradition. If it were true, one would be forced to think of Spanish amulets. All the Atayals are agreed on this point, that they were once brought to them from outside, and that for a long time, there has been no new material. According to this, the same quantity of objects used as money, which presumably are fairly safe from the ravages of termites, has been in circulation among them since its introduction, and only the temporary owners change. This is very possible, in view of the fact that there is no economy based on earnings, and in view of the fact that there has been no increase in the population of the Atayals, as well as because of the stagnation of their culture. The objects used as money are the only possessions that do not follow their owner to the grave. Neither tribe nor clan has concerned itself with making of ornaments to be used as

22: Wiedfeldt--36-37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 173, 177, 292, 436

money, nor have they attempted to fix the value of such ornaments, but nevertheless, they are the "legal" means by which all fines are paid. Together with language and customs, money is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals. The entire fortune of the Atayals consists of such money.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423 Atayal

Land does not belong to individual families.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 422, 432, 434   Atayal

Their huts, tools, weapons, and clothing constitute personal property, which no one sells. Even the pigs, which they have recently begun to raise and sell, do not count as a source of personal income. They serve only for the clan feasts.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 556, 614, 622 Atayal

The richest man in the tribe is said to have 250 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] The next richest is supposedly one who has 80. Since the first man is the head of a clan, probably all of this is not his private property, but merely belongs to him as the representative of the clan and is derived from rather large fines. Be that as it may, since the families have an average of 20 to 30 rokosch-kaha, there are no great inequalities of income among the Atayals. As to their other possessions, there is almost no difference between families. The ornaments which serve as money are not used for any other purposes than those which have been mentioned. In particular, it is never loaned, so that capital in the sense of money, and also interest, are unheard of. If the clan helps a family to assemble the amount needed for a fine or for the price of a bride, this is done from a feeling of solidarity, but the family does not repay the amount, nor does anyone expect them to do so. If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out. [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

22: Wiedfeldt--38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 439 Atayal

The objects set with precious things [MC: used as money by the Atayal] are not used in trading either. After all, there is no trading, although it is customary for barter to develop between "savages" and civilized people. There can be none. The fact that there is no means of communication would not be an insuperable obstacle, but would only make things more difficult. The means of communication now in use, such as the fire signals of distress, or the sending of messengers,...are destined only for military and political purposes, and it seems improbable to me that the suspension bridges are made for any other purpose. There is, however, a lack of goods that might be used in barter. "Trade follows the flag", but very slowly, even in the case of a country well equipped for trade like Japan...It does not follow at all for "savage tribes", which have no need of the wares of civilized peoples, except for modern weapons to keep off the traders, and it has not been desired to sell them weapons. The exchange that has gone on up to now between the Atayal border-tribes and the Japanese traders has been very limited as to amount and variety of objects: bright-colored cloth, glass beads, rings, sake, and matches, for reeds, bamboo sprouts, and recently, hides. Such ornaments are more necessary to the Atayals than salt, pots, knives, and metal tips, which they get from the Chinese, who are not protected by any flag. The need of the Atayals for those baubles is just as small as the market which they offer to Japanese economy is unimportant.

22: Wiedfeldt--38-39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 439, 177.43 Japanese
636.43

What the Japanese really need is the valuable camphor trees which grow in Atayal territory. This important commodity is not bartered, however, and the Japanese control only the camphor trees inside the Aiyu line, pushing this line ahead as they feel the need. The tribes in the interior naturally do not share in this insignificant trade in trifles which has slowly developed in the border territories. Barter between tribes is just as impossible as barter between members of tribes, for all the Atayals produce the same things, and therefore have nothing to offer each other.[39] The Atayals and the Amis, who bound them on the south, hate each other mutually, and have nothing but hostile dealings with each other. Since the Japanese forbade the importation of guns and salt, a contraband barter in these two articles, which can hardly be dispensed with for purposes of defence and maintenance, is said to have developed in place of the former free gift of these things to the tribes of the interior, but no one knew anything about it, or if they did, they were unwilling to say anything about it.

22: Wiedfeldt--39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 156, 181, 241, 433 Atayal

Atayal domestic economy produces no surplus which they could give up. Every family plants just as much land as it needs for its own maintenance. Besides, who would take a surplus off their hands, since every family produces the same thing and has enough for itself? The impulse to make a profit, which now dominates our whole life, is completely lacking....Furthermore, the Atayals have no competition, that motive power of economic life. Indeed, the effort to produce more than the other fellow and thus to distinguish oneself may be seen only in the skull hunt. Finally, they do not know how to aim at the greatest possible production with the smallest possible expenditure of strength.

22: Wiedfeldt--39[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 185, 224, 251 Atayal

They do not understand how to accumulate means for definite purposes. They do not store up any provisions for bad seasons, which, to be sure, is difficult in view of the damp, hot climate and the danger of destruction by termites. In general, it would be unnecessary, also, since nature is extraordinarily fertile. Because of the same lack of foresight, they know nothing about closed seasons in hunting. On the grounds of this lack of care for the future, the thrifty Chinese among whom the failure of the crops always means famine and widespread death consider the Atayals animal-like creatures.

22: Wiedfeldt--39-40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 43, 464, 592 Atayal

In spite of lack of good management, one may speak of an integrated Atayal economy, which, for all its crudity, corresponds to the economic ideal of complete self-sufficiency ....Atayal economy has a certain technical equipment, and recognizes real economic labor. It has values and prices; it had currency; and it has marketable wares for which there is supply and demand. [40] It consists of many uniform and individual domestic economies, which are based on the complementary labors of the men and women of the family, and in which a lack of labor is met by a money payment to the household. There is no such thing as supporting a family by labor brought in from outside.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 45, 433, 463, 592 Atayal

Atayal economy has developed only one special profession, for the exercise of which there is always a market and which is paid in wages. With this one exception, the families provide for all of their needs themselves, on their own fields, which are theirs as long as they use them. The size of the fields is just large enough to support the family and to keep the family supply of labor occupied. Everything that has to do with profits is lacking, such as the production and sale of surpluses, competition, ground-rent, interest, and employers' profits, as well as all the more important phases and ramifications of economy, from communications to capital and credit.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 626, 671 Atayal

There is no Atayal system of laws, in the modern sense of the word, for the fall of man in the development of laws, as Savigny calls the codification of legal usages, has not yet made its appearance in these tribes which can not write. For all that, they do not act with complete freedom of the will in their legal paradise, but move in the fixed grooves of traditional and generally observed rules which govern their relations with each other, not merely in the case of infractions of the legal usage, but in their community life as a whole.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 183, 627, 684 Atayal

An Atayal, unlike a modern cuckold, can not disregard this offence, but the clan, with its strict conception of marriage, will demand that the offence be punished, and if need be, will intervene in his place. Their simple and consistent legal principles are part of the flesh and blood of every Atayal, and are apparently more closely observed and less frequently violated than the individual regulations which are turned out by our parliamentary paragraph factories, which are a matter of concern to virtually only the parties interested for the moment. The penal law, civil law, and legal procedure of the Atayals, if I may be permitted to use these terms for the sake of brevity, could be put into the form of laws, if it were worth the trouble, and if, in so doing, their most characteristic features would not be lost. For this entire legal system consists of nothing but basic principles, from which one may safely deduce the necessary procedure for every individual case.

22: Wiedfeldt--41 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 681, 721 Atayal

Their penal law is based on the principle that every infraction of a legal usage must be punished. Conscious striving after justice is foreign to the Atayals, as far as I can determine. They want to restore conditions which have been upset by the offense to their proper place by means of expiation. They recognize infractions of the law only within the tribe. Adultery with a woman who does not belong to the tribe does not trouble any member of the tribe. To kill a man who belongs to another tribe or even to another people, confers prestige as a head-hunter. I myself have heard an Atayal boast in the presence of the Japanese police commissioner, who had been in office for 13 years in the border territory, that he had stolen a pig from a Chinese the night before. Neither do they consider it objectionable to pick bananas from a neighbor's field as they pass by.

22: Wiedfeldt--41-42 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 674, 681 Atayal

Recognized legal customs are seldom violated by the Atayals. In the course of two years there were said to have been in one tribe one case of adultery, three thefts, and four murders. These three types of offenses against the law are recognized by them, and so they protect the most important social principles: life, family, and property. They punish adultery more severely than is customary in modern times, because of the high esteem in which the family is held...and because of their solidarity with the injured member of the clan. The Atayals, like ourselves, distinguish three kinds of offenses: a delict--to use our expression--for example, killing a person in the hunt; a misdemeanour, for example, the killing of a member of the tribe; a crime, for example, the killing of a member of the clan. They have three corresponding degrees of punishment: a fine, compensation derived from the offender's property by means of a fine or burning his hut, and the death penalty, from which there is no appeal. It is less surprising that they do not know anything about depriving a person of freedom as a means of punishment,--which would be difficult to do, anyway,--than that they have not adopted the practice of corporal punishment in spite of the fact that they have long been neighbors of the Chinese. If the fine is not paid, the death penalty is applied. After all, that failure to pay the fine is a sign that the members of the clan reject the criminal. The punishments may be accumulated, for example, in the case of adultery. Since the punishment is an attempt to settle and avenge the offense, it almost always includes a fine paid to the injured party or to his clan. [42] It is not a fixed sum, but is adjusted

22: Wiedfeldt--41-42 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 674, 681 Atayal

according to the demands of the clan, the seriousness of the offense, and the capacity of the offender to pay. Finer legal distinctions of other kinds are not unknown to the Atayals, for example, premeditation, mitigating circumstances, or the distinction between adultery on the part of the woman and adultery on the part of the man, a distinction which has been obliterated in modern times.

22: Wiedfeldt--42 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 614 Atayal

Whereas nowadays the corporate body of the state has pushed the injured party to one side, and only in exceptional cases allows him to appear as co-plaintiff, while it acts independently of him through the medium of its experts, an injured party among the Atayals takes the law in his own hands. He kills the adulterer or murderer, and he takes back by force what has been stolen from him. If he can not obtain his rights alone, he calls upon his clan for help, and he alone, or strengthened by his solidarity with his clan, appears as the only plaintiff and demands compensation. The chief of the tribe does not interfere except in the case of an unreasonable demand, or to help determine the identity of the criminal. The fines never flow into the community coffers, that is, those of the tribe, but always into those of the clan, or they go direct to the injured party, who is under obligation to use them for the benefit of the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--42 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 671, 851 Atayal

The Atayals also possess the most important institutions of civil law. ... The mere fact of birth is a matter of indifference before the law. Only when the child receives a name, that is, when it is about three years old, does it begin to enjoy some consideration before the law. On the other hand, the capacity to carry on business is indicated by the outward sign of tattooing, instead of by age.

22: Wiedfeldt--42-43 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421, 614, 672, 692 Atayal

It may be shown that the Atayals recognize the existence of such a thing as a corporation from the fact that the clan has property, buys and sells land, that it has definite representation, and that action may be brought against it, as it may bring action against someone else. In spite of this, I do not think that the Atayals see the clan as a special repository of their legal rights. It is more probable that they merely regard the head of the clan as the member who has to take care of the joint liabilities of the families in the clan together with them and as their authorized agent. Taking the law into one's own hands is not limited to cases of self-defence. For example, if an adopted child runs away, and the adoption money is not returned, the head of the family can take another child from this family or clan without further ado. [43] Other legal principles, such as fixing a term, or full power of attorney, are also known.

22: Wiedfeldt--43 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 675 Atayal

From the legal principle of indebtedness, the Atayals derive the basic concept of the bilateral agreement, or contract, which applies to purchase as a matter of give and take, both to the purchase of a wife or a child, and to the purchase of land between clans, and, more recently, also to the purchase of cattle. If a person who has been bought leaves the purchaser, he must be given back, or the sum paid must be returned. All other kinds of contracts, such as rent, lease, borrowing, loans, and contracts for service and labor are unheard of... The reimbursement of the hamengoppu [MC: old women] for tattooing is more in the nature of a gift than of a money-payment according to contract.

22: Wiedfeldt--43 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177.64 Japanese
636.64

The agreements between the tribes and the Japanese officials are in the nature of international law, and have been forced upon the Atayals in the last decade and a half.

22: Wiedfeldt--43 [3]　F-5　(1913) 1914　Formosan Aborigines
116, 421　Atayal

In the field of property law among the Atayals, the most important institution, ownership, is clearly present as the complete and exclusive right to dispose of a thing. There is no such right to dispose of persons. The purchaser may neither kill nor mistreat a child he has purchased. Every individual is the absolute owner of his possessions, which even follow him to the grave. The clan is the owner of the arable land. The hunting-grounds are the joint property of several clans. The law is closely adapted to the economic possibilities, for the land is of no value to the individual family after two or three years, but it continues to be of value to the clan. During such time as they keep the land planted, the family enjoys undisputed possession of it. The families do not have even a temporary share in the ownership of the hunting-grounds, which are the common property of several clans. The members of the clans in question, accordingly, have only the right to use the hunting-grounds, without any special duty to be performed in return, unless one considers as such the general duty to defend the members of the clan. If, thus, property, ownership, and usufruct appear to be legal concepts which are common among the Atayals, on the other hand they are completely unacquainted with hypothecary law, mortgages, and taxes on real property.

22: Wiedfeldt--43-44 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 421, 581, 584 Atayal

In the field of marriage law... [44] the Atayals clearly recognize the idea of monogamy, which is generally practised. They are acquainted with the idea of betrothal, which they accomplish by means of making a payment on the price of the bride. The betrothal may be dissolved by paying it back. Marriage itself is minutely, one might say, exhaustively regulated as to the terms under which it may be made and unmade. It is not unsuitably connected with the only form of contract that they know of, that of cash purchase. Married couples live, so to speak, with separate property rights, for each one retains the property which he or she has brought to the marriage, and ultimately takes them along to the grave. Anything that is acquired during their married life, such as provisions, belongs to both persons equally, and is left to the survivor.

5

22: Wiedfeldt--44 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 597 Atayal

Among the Atayals, as throughout the whole of the East, the adoption of children is much more frequent than in the West, and is correspondingly governed by many legal usages.

2

22: Wiedfeldt-44 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428 Atayal

Among the Atayal tribes there is only a rudimentary form of an inheritance law. The surviving spouse inherits, irrespective of children, relatives, or clan, the provisions and whatever property there is in the form of ornaments. Recently, they have also begun to inherit the dog, the hen, and the pig.

22: Wiedfeldt--44 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 429, 614, 768 Atayal

The widow is the authorized guardian of the children, and can therefore sell them, or can demand the bride-price for a marriageable daughter. If she is not capable of performing this duty, a neighbor who is a member of the clan, or the head of the clan intervenes. At a glance, this recalls the modern system whereby many municipal authorities may exercise a general guardianship.

22: Wiedfeldt--44-45 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 671, 692 Atayal

Finally, some traces of formal legal procedure may also be detected, although there is no training in the law nor even a special legal profession as such. In cases of civil law, the chief of the tribe is not really the authority who has the deciding word on the legal aspect of the case. He merely collects the evidence, and from the results of this, the decision is clear to everyone, and the deductions to be made are self-evident, for everyone is well acquainted with the legal usages. In criminal law, the chief of the tribe has considerably more power, because the community has a real interest in not permitting a crime, for example, adultery, to go unpunished through the complaisance of the husband. Nor do they wish the murder of a child to go unavenged by the head of a family, because the murderer was a more powerful neighbor, and they are anxious to prevent the irascible victim of a thief from taking the law into his own hands and thus committing a new and unjustifiable crime. As representatives of the community in such cases the two most highly respected [45] men are naturally called to serve. At the same time, if it is necessary, they pass on the possibility of carrying out the sentence. Their jurisdiction is simply and clearly limited according to whether members of the same clan, or members of different clans are involved in the case. Where there is no such spokesman, there is no course of law, ~~so~~ that among the Atayals all of their legal activity has continued to be limited to the individual tribe.

22: Wiedfeldt--45 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 695 Atayal

In the Atayal tribes, each of the two legal authorities decides his cases definitely, with no possibility of appeal. There are no lay assessors or boards. The two chiefs act independently, although they themselves are laymen, and live on equal terms with the other members of their tribe. The action is taken by the injured party, or civil plaintiff, and in some cases by his clan. The community only helps him to obtain his legal due, or intervenes, if he refuses to act. Naturally, the proceedings are conducte orally, and are brief. The testimony of eye-witnesses or the skull-hunt serve as evidence.

22: Wiedfeldt--45 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 671, 681, 696   Atayal

The execution of the decision arrived at [MC: in criminal cases] is simple. The clan always bows to the decision in the presence of the chief of the tribe; an individual famil or a single individual almost always does so. If necessary, the clan uses force, or debars a disobedient member from the clan. The injured clan always receives the fine which is due it, even though the clan which is obligated to pay can not always get it fron the guilty member, which after all does not mean very much in view of the solidarity of the members of the clan. Thus, the Atayals have a well developed system of criminal law, they possess the most important basic institutions of civil law, and they have orderly legal procedure.

22: Wiedfeldt--45-46 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 581, 594 Atayal

The economic life of the Atayals is concerned with caring for the existence of the individual. Their legal life concerns itself with the delimitation and regulation of the relations between two peoples or clans. Their social institutions seek to unite several individuals for definite purposes. It is clear from the start that in this difficult field of human organization, Atayal life is less developed in respect to the nature, duties, and composition of these overlapping institutions than it is in the other two. Their most important social institutions is the family, which is founded on the basis of strict monogamy. It has its roots in the economic sphere, and, as we have already shown, it makes possible the economic existence of the Atayal tribes. It [46] extends to the higher social development, provides for the continuation and marriage of the sexes, and is the only thing that preserves and carries on the degree of civilization which they have attained. In contrast to our social conditions, the higher social institutions do not concern themselves with this last task at all, but merely foster tribal tradition and the unity of the tribe and the clans through their festivals, which the family as such does not have anything to do with, purely because of a division of responsibilities.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 571, 602, 614 Atayal

The next highest social institution [MC: above the family], the clan, is based on the blood relationship of the families, which are thus united into a solid unit. Since each member has the same influence on the direction of the clan, each is exposed to the same dangers, and each derives the same profit from it. Joint responsibility, which is the most rudimentary and most easily developed form of common responsibility is in keeping here, especially since more cultivated types of association with limited or graduated responsibility are unknown. The clan is charged with such economic tasks as exceed the capacity of the individual family. In particular, it owns the property which the member families use and own temporarily... It has other important functions in criminal and civil law, and together with the tribe it facilitates the entire legal side of Atayal life.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 648 Atayal

The tribe is a political association of the clans which live in a definite territory and are united by similar customs. Accordingly, it has no economic functions. It is responsible for the legal regulations which are beyond the scope of the individual clan. Furthermore, it is charged with certain military and political functions on behalf of its members.

22: Wiedfeldt--46-47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 476, 592 Atayal

Measured by the standards of our present conditions, the Atayals lack the social relationship between employer and labor which has come into being by means of the labor contract, and by means of which the worker places his labor at the disposal of the employer in return for compensation. The Atayals know nothing about bringing outside labor in to help in their own households, nor do they understand the principle of mutual aid between neighbors... They only know how to manage with the labor supplied by the members of their own families and they increase the membership of the family if the need arises. The association of several clans for the purpose of hunting or fishing, and the [47] equal division of the booty among all can not be regarded as the beginning of the social institution of joint production, for there is no integration of labor. It may rather be regarded as a kind of economic union, and considered from this point of view, it would emphasize the difference between the poverty of Atayal life and the great number of economic organizations and unions that characterize our times.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 619 Atayal

The gap between our conditions and theirs is further emphasized by the fact that the Atayals lack any political organization which is superior to the tribe, in short, any organization resembling a [MC: national]state.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 594, 614, 622   Atayal

If the family, which is connected among the Atayals by sexual life and propagation, has received its characteristic form because of the economic tasks which it is called upon to perform, the clan is apparently an enlarged family, whose original chief has retained definite legal and economic obligations of a superior nature.

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [3]　F-5　(1913) 1914　Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 619, 643　Atayal

Judging from the name and the powers of the chief, the tribe may have originated from the fact that several clans gathered about a skillful and successful military leader.... [MC: National] states in general have originated by force and conquest under a powerful leader, who then took upon himself the obligation to perform valuable services, such as defence against outside forces and the exercise of justice in domestic life. Such a development by the use of force did not take place among the Atayals.

22: Wiedfeldt--47-48 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 177, 182, 619, 648, 721 Atayal

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

22: Wiedfeldt--47-48 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 177, 182, 619, 648, 721 Atayal

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--48-49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 182, 614, 631 Atayal

The natural reason for the existence side by side of two superior social institutions, i. e., the clan and the tribe, is space, together with the functions which naturally are incumbent upon them. The tribe occupies 8 to 10 times as much territory as the clan. It would not be feasible to eliminate one of the two organizations, and to give the remaining one all of its functions. The territory occupied by the tribe would be too large to enable the tribe to handle the economic functions of the clan, and to act as owner of all the land. Also, the solidarity of the members of the clan would be impaired by being spread out over too large an area. Reversing the situation, the territory of the clan would be too small to enable the clan to render military and political service. Even the territory covered by the tribe has now proved to be too small for this purpose. The carrying out of their legal customs and their legal procedure would in both cases meet difficulties which could only be overcome by far-reaching changes in the entire social structure. In the organization of society for political functions, the simultaneous existence of two institutions, one of which is subordinate to the other, one of which is regional and the other local, is a logical and necessary thing, which can not be avoided without impairing or even crippling the entire organism. A social organism springs up, however, as soon as we have several people living together. Not only do [49] controversies arise, which must be settled, but there are matters which demand community cooperation and a superior order.

22: Wiedfeldt--49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 562, 589, 593 Atayal

Since children are not counted, the Atayal family consists of two members, whose activities complement each other and are equally necessary to their existence. Hence the two have, so to speak, equal rights. In spite of this favorable position of the woman, it is the man who is the head of the family. He decides where they are to live; he pays any fines, or the price of a bride for his son; he alone has the right to participate in the activities of the higher social institutions, and he alone is obligated to do so. The deduction drawn by many advocates of women's rights, that equal economic services lead to equal political rights, meets an exception in the forests of Formosa. There is no such thing as an Atayal living alone, for even widowhood is only a transitory state, or was only a transitory state, until the recent wars brought about a shortage of men. Previously, all the Atayals were members of a family, without exception.

22: Wiedfeldt--49-50 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 622, 623, 643, 646 Atayal

Even more than the family needs a head do the populous institutions of the clan and the tribe need a head to direct them and act for them, for a large number of persons can only act through a representative. In addition, they also need, since they include many people, a body which will express and put into effect the will of the community. Since the dekan [MC: hunting association composed of several clans] lacks both bodies, it is not a social organism, but only a start in that direction. In the clan, this inclusive assembly consists of the heads of all the families, and the bachelors who have been tattooed. In the tribe, it consists of the clan heads and the honorary chiefs. The modern method of selecting the most suitable persons to represent the rest of the population by some kind of electoral procedure is unknown to the Atayals, even in the tribe, where it would be possible. Just as the head of the family represents the family in the clan, [50] so the hereditary heads of the clans are the natural representatives of the members of their clans in the tribal assembly. All the representatives to the assemblies have equal rights. Anyone who is absent is not counted, not even as a negative vote... This would be unnecessary anyway, for among the Atayals, everyone appears. The full assemblies have the authority to make decisions, and they pass on all matters of a general nature. The will of the totality is recognized by the mechanical means of a simple majority. If there is a tie between two opinions, the chief has the decisive voice.

If a resolution is passed, the chief is empowered and obligated to put it into effect, for example, a clan head may be authorized to buy a certain piece of land at a set price,

22: Wiedfeldt--49-50 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 622, 623, 643, 646 Atayal

or a tribal chief may be authorized to carry on negotiations with the Japanese concerning the changes in the Aiyu line. The not unfamiliar contrast between representative and constituent has been rendered impossible among the Atayals by restricting the representative to limited powers. The clan assembly can hold the hereditary head of the clan responsible for voting as it desires in the tribal assembly, for as a rule the clan assembly precedes, and it does so. The corporate body does not relinquish its exclusive right to make decisions even under unfavorable circumstances.

22: Wiedfeldt--50-51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643, 648 Atayal

After an unsuccessful [MC: diplomatic] battle against the Japanese, the chief of the tribe was forced to break off the negotiations, as soon as circumstances arose which had not been foreseen when his powers were conferred upon him, and had to go back and question his tribal assembly anew, to the annoyance of the Japanese. In view of the fact that they are closely bound to observe the decisions of the full assembly, neither the head of the clan nor the chief of the tribe in particular becomes a real leader and authority, for example, in the protection of foreign envoys. They would not be able to develop any initiative if their position were not assured of a certain independence from another source. They are not chosen by election, and hence they are free from any influence from the side of the assembly or the members of the tribe. Both have inherited their positions as representatives from their forebears, chiefly from their fathers, who selected the most suitable successor on the basis of their long experience and their judgment, without any help from the body corporate. Just [51] as they enter upon their office at the death or retirement of their predecessor, without any particular ceremony, so the termination of their careers as representatives depends entirely on their own wishes. The chief of a tribe retires from his somewhat honorary position when he thinks that he can no longer perform important functions. . .

22: Wiedfeldt--51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 262, 721 Atayal

If several of the men of a tribe are working together in the assembly, or in the hunt, or in a war, they are absent from their huts for days. In the first case, they are fed on the results of the community fishing expedition, and in the second, on the results of the hunt. In the third case, each man brings with him a supply of millet for several days. This is prepared by the women who live nearby. When the millet was consumed, the war was also at an end, as long as they were dealing with other "savages". In the long drawn-out campaigns waged by the Japanese, they had to suspend operations after a few days, in order to procure new food.

22: Wiedfeldt--52 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 614, 619, 622 Atayal

Although a lack of supplies and transportation seriously cripples the power of the Atayals to act, to act, they have not yet been able to rise to performing any services for the body corporate. [MC: i. e. the tribe] They have only their own persons and their own strength to offer. . . It is different in the case of the clan. Here the members of the clan join in raising the fines and the purchase prices. One might see in this custom the germ of a tax system. If one were to examine the conditions more closely, one might also discover other basic principles of taxation, such as the consideration of the capacity of the individual to pay, or the imposition of a heavier quota on those who are particularly concerned. The head of a clan who keeps the fines that are paid in may also be regarded as a kind of treasurer. One may see how difficult it is to organize a large number of people to united and permanent activity from the fact that economic means can be levied for the clan, with its social and economic functions which are easy to see, but it is not possible to do this for the tribe even in an emergency. One can see how this difficulty increases with the size of the superior body.

22: Wiedfeldt--52[2]   F-5   (1913) 1914   Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 623, 643, 646   Atayal

The Atayals possess, in addition to the family, two higher grades of social organizations [MC: ie. the clan and the tribe] with a clearly defined and suitable distribution of functions to both institutions. Each one of them has the two indispensable spokesmen: the assembly of the whole and the head, between whom the powers have up to now been adequately divided.